DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 372 987 SO 024 017

AUTHOR	Thomas, R. Murray
TITLE	Teaching Patriotism as a Moral Matter -- Indonesia and the United States.
PUB DATE	Nov 93
NOTE	20p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society's Western Regional (Los Angeles, CA, November 1993).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Citizenship Education; Citizenship Responsibility; Classroom Techniques; *Cross Cultural Studies; Foreign Countries; General Education; Higher Education; *Moral Values; *Patriotism; *Political Socialization; Textbooks; Two Year Colleges
IDENTIFIERS	*Indonesia; Patriotism Instruction; *United States

ABSTRACT

With both the content and methods of instruction about patriotism differing from one society to another and within a given society from one educational institution to another, this paper describes a framework for analyzing the teaching of patriotism and illustrates how such a framework can be used in comparing patriotism instruction across societies and educational institutions. The illustrations are drawn from typical textbooks used in general-education courses that focus on national history and government in the first two years of college in Indonesia and in U.S. higher-education institutions particularly in two-year community colleges. After addressing the question of patriotism as a moral matter, the presentation describes an analytic framework for comparing the patriotism content of textbooks. Five influential conditions in Indonesia and the United States affect the nature of patriotism instruction: (1) demographic diversity; (2) sociocultural philosophy; (3) political stability; (4) locus of control; and (5) international relations. The textbooks from each country differ in behavior expected of patriots, treatment of controversial issues, assessment of past and present political figures in the nation, and appraisal of present and past government administrations.
(Author/CK)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 372 987

Abstract

Teaching Patriotism As a Moral Matter— Indonesia and the United States

R.. Murray Thomas
University of California, Santa Barbara

Patriotism is founded on the moral principle of loyalty to one's country. Both the content and methods of instruction about patriotism can differ from one society to another and, within a given society, from one educational institution to another. This paper describes a framework for analyzing the teaching of patriotism and illustrates how such a framework can be used in comparing patriotism instruction across societies and educational institutions. The illustrations are drawn from typical textbooks used in general-education courses that focus on national history and government in the first two years of college in Indonesian and in U. S. American higher-education institutions, particularly in two-year community colleges.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

R. MURRAY THOMAS

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

SO 024 017

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Teaching Patriotism As a Moral Matter— Indonesia and the United States

R.. Murray Thomas
University of California, Santa Barbara

The line of reasoning pursued in the following pages derives from five propositions:

1. That patriotism is a moral matter.
2. That patriotism involves loyal dedication to the values that serve as the nation's philosophical foundations.
3. That a key task assigned to each nation's education system is that of teaching those values.
4. That the conception of patriotism currently in vogue in a nation can be derived from an inspection of the contents of textbooks used for teaching patriotism in the schools.
5. That a framework designed for analyzing the patriotism aspects of textbooks can reveal likenesses and differences between nations in their teaching of patriotism.

As a means of illustrating these propositions, I shall draw on present-day examples of the teaching of patriotism in Indonesia and the United States.* More precisely, this is a study of what textbook authors in these two societies believe are effective ways to teach patriotism to undergraduate college students. The presentation first addresses the question of patriotism as a moral matter. Second, it describes an analytical framework for comparing the patriotism content of one textbook with that of another. Third, it offers an estimate of how five characteristics of the two societies have influenced the nature of patriotism instruction.

Loyalty—Patriotism's Core Moral Principle

It is my impression that patriotism is seldom viewed as a moral matter. Perhaps this is because patriotism is rarely, if ever, included in the most familiar versions of moral issues, such versions as the Judaic ten commandments (Exodus, 1611) or the golden rule of the Christian New Testament which simply urges people "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise" (Luke, 1611). Nor is patriotism specifically identified as part such secular philosophers' proposals as Gert's logically derived moral rules: (1) don't kill, (2) don't cause pain, (3) don't disable, (4) don't deprive of freedom or opportunity, (5) don't deprive of pleasure, (6) don't deceive, (7) keep your promise, (8) don't cheat, (9) obey the law, and (10) do your duty. It seems apparent, however, that patriotism could be subsumed under Gert's final rule of "do your duty."

Despite its omission form lists of moral values, I believe a strong case can be made for locating patriotism within the moral domain by means of identifying the moral principle that forms the core of patriotism and by considering the sanctions applied to people who violate the principle. That core principle is *loyalty*. As a moral virtue, loyalty consists of a person's embracing and seeking to promote the values held by the object toward which that loyalty is directed. In the present case, the object is the nation. Other objects toward which loyalty can be aimed include individuals, groups, institutions, and sets of ideals. Typical individuals are gods, one's parents, charismatic leaders, and heroes. Groups include a church congregation, an athletic team, and an ethnic assemblage. An institution becomes the object of loyalty whenever an organization itself and not simply its current members is the focus. Typical institutions are schools, social clubs, political parties, labor unions, business firms, and the nation. Loyalty may also be directed toward a set of ideals that are clustered under such titles as *humanitarianism, democracy,* or *socialism.*

---

* A note of thanks is due the following Indonesian professors for providing materials essential to the conduct of this study—Soedijarto, N. Suryati Sidharto, Darwis A. Sulaeman, and M. Numan Somaatri

Patriotism, in addition to being seated in the principle of loyalty, qualifies as a moral matter by the fact that the array of sanctions applied for breaches of loyalty to one's country is the same as the array of sanctions incurred for violations of such moral dicta as those proscribing robbery, fraud, lying, sexual exploitation, physical assault, killing, and the like. Just as the sanctions applied for violating these rules can differ in severity depending on the extent of harm done, so also the sanctions meted out for violations of loyalty to one's nation can vary in their harshness. As a mild penalty for criticizing the nation's leaders, a citizen may be scolded in private by acquaintances. As a more severe sanction, the critic may be censured in the public press. For failing to pay taxes, a person may be assessed a fine or sent to prison. As the most extreme response to violating patriotic duty, an offender can be executed. Death can be the penalty for such acts of high treason as delivering vital military secrets to the enemy during wartime.

In summary, I suggest that patriotism is a moral obligation requiring citizens to promote the values that serve as their nation's philosophical foundation.

A Framework for Analyzing the Teaching of Patriotism

I have proposed that teaching patriotism is one of the most important tasks assigned to a nation's schools and that a government's conception of patriotism is reflected in the contents of typical textbooks—especially texts focusing on national history and government. My purpose now is to describe a framework for the content analysis of such books so as to reveal ways in which one nation's conception of patriotism compares with another's. The application of the framework is illustrated with examples from texts used in the first two years of higher-education institutions in Indonesia and the United States.

The framework addresses two principal concerns: (1) the organizational context in which textbooks on patriotism are published and distributed and (2) the patriotism content of such books, including the style of instruction used for teaching patriotic values. The items focusing on these concerns are cast as guide questions which the analysis of textbooks is intended to answer. In the following presentation, the order in which the questions appear is not necessarily the order in which they will be answered during the process of examining a book. Instead, information bearing of several questions usually can be gathered simultaneously. The description of the framework is then followed by a discussion section in which several noteworthy results of this study are summarized and interpreted.

The Publishing Context

Nations often differ from each other in their policies governing textbook publishing and curriculum content. The teaching of patriotism can be significantly influenced by such differences. This point is clearly demonstrated in the cases of Indonesia and the United States. The following questions identify the aspects of publishing contexts that contribute to the degree of uniformity of textbook use within a society.

1. Uniformity and universality in textbook use

Guide questions: To what degree are textbooks for teaching patriotism the same throughout the nation?

What factors apparently have determined the degree of uniformity or of diversity?

A key distinction between the two nations lies in their modes of educational governance. In Indonesia, power to regulate both public and private higher-education institutions is vested in the national government, principally in the higher-education directorate of the central Ministry of Education. By ministerial regulations, as founded on decisions of the nation's parliament, the basic general-education courses taken by first-year college students throughout the nation must include three that focus on moral matters, (1) patriotism (*kewiraan*), (2) the Nation's Five Foundational Principles (*Pancasila*), and religious education (*pendidikan agama*). Many institutions also require a national history class

(*sejarah perjuangan bangsa*). In addition, entering students are obliged to take a series of orientation lessons to upgrade their present knowledge of the country's philosophical foundations (*Pancasila*). The basic textbooks for these courses are in versions authorized by the central government and uniformly used throughout the nation's institutes, academies, and universities (*Bahan Penataran* ,1988; Lembaga Pertahanan Nasional, 1992). The volume entitled *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* (Patriotism for College Students), was prepared under the direction of the National Defense Institute, (Lembaga Pertahanan Nasional, 1992, 260 pages). The examples of Indonesian practice that I include in the following pages are drawn primarily from this publication. In some Indonesian colleges, local faculty members publish textbooks intended to complement the nationally authorized materials (Staf Pengajar PSPB, 1992).

The system for governing higher education in the United States is dramatically different from the Indonesian plan. Each US college or university is responsible for setting its own pattern of courses. Although there are no courses specifically designed for teaching patriotism, classes focusing on American history and government typically include patriotism-education content. Virtually all textbooks are written by individuals not associated with the government. The books are issued by private publishers. As a result, there can be considerable diversity in the content and style of textbooks available for American history and government classes. The instructors of those classes are free to select the texts they consider most appropriate. However, despite this freedom and diversity, there is a substantial core of material in such classes that is common throughout the nation. For example, essentially any book about national government will dedicate a great deal of attention to the contents of the US Constitution, in which basic values of patriotic morality are embedded. American history books reflect those same values through instances of people either conforming with or violating principles of patriotism. The examples of US American practice that I include in the following pages are drawn from one of the more popular texts adopted in US. community colleges and universities for classes in American government (*Understanding American Government* by Welch, Gruhl, Steinman, Comer, & Basehard, 1992, 562 pages). My brief review of other college textbooks about national government and history suggest that their contents are generally similar to those of *Understanding American Government* .

In summary, a nation's tradition for setting curricula and for publishing textbooks can significantly affect the extent to which the teaching of patriotism is uniform and universal throughout the country's higher-learning institutions.

Instructional Content

The term *instructional content* refers to the information, values, and behaviors that learners are expected to acquire from a patriotism-education program as it is represented in textbooks. The following ten sets of questions can serve as guides to the analysis of such content.

2. The stated aim of the textbook

Two ways of estimating the goals that a textbook's authors hope to achieve are (a) by reading a statement of the intended objectives of the work—a statement typically found in the preface or introduction to the volume— and (b) by inferring the goals from the contents of the book. The first of these ways involves answering the following guide question, whereas the second involves drawing inferences from the information gathered in answering all of the subsequent nine sets of framework questions.

Guide question: What do the authors say is the purpose of the book?

Indonesia: The forward to *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* states that the charge issued to the committee that developed the book was that of "providing guidance and direction in developing, improving, and expanding the patriotism-education material available to higher-education institutions. . . . It is our hope that this volume will benefit the Indonesian people and their nation, specifically by cultivating students' understanding of the nation and of how to protect it."

USA: The preface to *Understanding American Government* states that "a particular emphasis throughout the book is on the *impact* of government: how individual features of government affect its responsiveness to different groups; . . . we think that students will be more willing to learn about government if they see some relationships between how government operates and the impact it has on them as citizens of America. . . . Student interest and analytic abilities grow when confronted with a clash of views about important issues."

3. Types of textbook contents

Most textbook contents in the realm of patriotism education can be divided into four main categories—descriptions, interpretations, the identification of values or principles, and behavior prescriptions.

3.1 Descriptions are portrayals of events, conditions, organizations, or documents. Such descriptions are ostensibly objective observations not accompanied by interpretations of what the portrayals should mean from the viewpoint of patriotism. The following examples, drawn from the Indonesian and US American texts, illustrate each of the four kinds of description.

3.1.1 Events are historical incidents, including people, places, and the happenings that they involved.

Indonesia: "Indonesian nationalists officially declared their independence from the Netherlands on August 17, 1945."

USA: "George Bush made a campaign promise to give environmental goals a high priority. Seven months after his inauguration, he introduced a clean air bill." (3)

3.1.2 Conditions are characteristics of a nation that extend over a period of time and affect the welfare of the people or their government. The conditions are presented from the viewpoint of the author. At least in some cases, not everyone would agree with that version of conditions.

Indonesia: "Indonesia, the largest country in Southeast Asia, is an island nation consisting of 13,667 islands and island groups, 6,044 of which bear official names." (19)

USA.: "An overall loss of economic competitiveness by the United States in the world market during the 1970s and 1980s stimulated vigorous competition among the states to attract new businesses and jobs."

3.1.3 Organizations are formally structured groups or institutions whose policies and functions are either explicit or can be inferred from the organizations' activities.

Indonesia: "Lekra, an organization created by the Indonesian Communist Party, sponsored cultural activities." (59)

USA: "The AFL-CIO is a confederation of 88 trade and industrial unions with 13 million members." (114)

3.1.4 Documents are printed materials bearing on matters of patriotism. The author identifies such documents and summarizes selected portions of their contents.

Indonesia: "According to the E*ncyclopaedia Britannica*, the term 'geopolitic' can mean 'applied political geography.'"

USA: "In the Articles of Confederation, any changes had to be approved by all 13 states."

3.2 Interpretations are either definitions of terms or propsals of the meaning to be assigned to passages.

3.2.1 Definitions of terms, oftentimes in the form of applications of concepts to life situations.

Indonesia: "When we speak of *the national interest* (kepentingan nasional), we mean attending to all factors that function as requisites or prerequisites for achieving the nation's goals."

USA: "A belief in political equality leads to *popular sovereignty*, or rule by the people."

3.2.2 Proposals about the significance of events, conditions, organizations, or documents for the practice of patriotism. The interpretations are from the perspective of the author. Authors who hold different views of patriotism might not draw the same implications.

Indonesia—An event: "At that time, the Indonesian people's struggle against Western colonialism could not succeed because, among other reasons, Indonesians were not unified, the western colonialists

applied a divide-and-conquer strategy, and the colonialists' weapons were more modern than those of the indigenous peoples." (57)

A condition: "It is clear that a people who possess a high level of national resilience will be able to achieve their ideals because such a people is able to master all types of challenges, threats, obstacles, and disturbances that arise either from within or from outside their nation." (7)

An organization: "Led by the Budi Utomo group (May 20, 1908), the Indonesian people changed their method of confronting western colonialism; they promoted a form of education that would empower the populace and develop a national spirit aimed at achieving independence by their establishing their own nation which they would govern by themselves" (57).

A document: "The 1945 National Constitution is capable of consolidating the citizenry's creative powers." (44)

USA—An event: The acquiescence of northern political leaders to the reestablishment of white supremacy in the South became clear in the wake of the disputed 1876 election, wherein southern Democrats agreed to support Republican Rutherford B. Hayes for president in return for an end to the northern military presence in the South. This marked the end of reconstruction." (165)

A condition: "Inconsistencies dominate American politics. We take pride in our government but look down on our politicians." (4)

An organization: "Like bureaucrats, judges also make policy. Some interest groups, like the American Civil Liberties Union, try to achieve their goals by getting involved in cases and persuading courts to rule in their favor." (123)

A document: "There is little evidence that the Federalist Papers swayed any of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention." (37)

Textbooks can vary in the proportion of each type of content they contain. The authors' beliefs about which mix of types most adequately promotes patriotism among students can be revealed by answering the following question.

Guide question: What percentage of a book's contents is dedicated to each of the foregoing types of material?

In answer to this question, Table 1 displays the amount of each type in the Indonesian and US American textbooks in terms of the percentage of space dedicated to each category: The Indonesian and US texts are much alike in the amount of space dedicated to descriptions of events, conditions, and organizations as well as in interpretations of events, organizations, and documents. However, the Indonesian volume assigns more space to descriptions of documents (primarily the constitution, laws, and regulations) and definitions of terms than does the US volume. In contrast, the US text includes over 250% more interpretation of conditions than does the Indonesian book. The American authors, in effect, spend considerably more time proposing what the nation's sociopolitical conditions means for the citizenry and for the governing process than do the Indonesian authors, whereas the Indonesian authors direct more attention at explaining terminology.

When the total quantity of description is compared to the total quantity of interpretation, it becomes apparent that in both countries the authors dedicate a large amount of space to proposing the meanings that readers should derive from events, conditions, organizations, and documents. The US American authors offers more interpretation than do their Indonesian counterparts. (Interpretation totals: Indonesia 40%, USA 51%).

Eight varieties of material bearing on patriotism that may be embedded within descriptions, interpretations, and definitions are ones concerning (a) patriotic values, (b) prescriptions of how patriots should behave, (c) the type of nation that deserves patriots' allegiance, (d) threats to the nation's welfare, (e) the treatment of moral controversies, (f) perceptions of other nations, (g) the assessment of one's own nation, and (h) the relationship of patriotism to other kinds of loyalty.

Table 1

Amount of Each Type of Textbook Content

Indonesia		United States	
Book: *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa*		Book: *Understanding American Government*	
Type of Content	%	Type of Content	%
Descriptions of:		Descriptions of:	
Events	18	Events	18
Conditions	23	Conditions	26
Organizations	2	Organizations	2
Documents	17	Documents	3
Interpretations of:		Interpretations of:	
Events	3	Events	2
Conditions	14	Conditions	36
Organizations	1	Organizations	4
Documents	3	Documents	3
Definitions	19	Definitions	6

(The process of estimating the percentage of a book devoted to a given type of content consisted of the investigator first placing a code number for a type [such as 3.2.1 for a definition] in the margin of the book beside each paragraph or segment of a paragraph. Next, each coded segment was measured vertically in centimeters and all measurements for a given code number were summed; then this sum was divided by the total measurements for all code numbers to yield the percentages reported in Table 1.)

4. Patriotic values

The values that patriots are expected to display in relation to their nation, and the frequency with which different values are mentioned, can differ from one nation to another. Furthermore, the values and their frequency can change from one time to another within the same nation.

4.1 Proposed values and obligations

Guide question: What terms are used to identify the values that patriots are expected to display in relation to their nation?

Indonesia: Patriotic values prominently featured and identified by specific terms in the *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* include: ability to develop a strong nation, (kemampuan memgembangkan kekuatan nasional), love of country (kecintaan), conscious awareness (kesadaran), allegiance or loyalty (kesetiaan), bravery (keberanian), firmness of conviction (teguh atas pandangan dan pendiriannya), determination (ketabahan), self-sacrifice (berkorban), integrity (ketangguhan), protectiveness (membela), strength (kekuatan), perseverance (keuletan), endurance or resilience (ketahanan), strength of resistance (daya tahan), and refusal to surrender (tidak kenal meyerah). In addition, the book's stated aim suggests that patriots are expected to (a) understand the principles on which the government is based, (b) understand the structure of government and the contents of its principal laws and regulations, and (c) defend the government from both external and internal threats.

USA: The textbook *Understanding American Government* presents no specific terms that identify values or duties patriots should adopt. However, the stated purpose of the book and its contents seem to imply that US Americans should: (a) understand the moral principles on which their government is founded, (b) understand the structure of government and the intended roles of its components, (c) recognize both the ideal and the real interaction of government and its citizens, (d) recognize the merits and defects of this interaction, and (e) do whatever is needed to maintain and improve the system. A conspicuous obligation patriots bear is that of honoring and protecting the series of freedoms and rights to which the government is dedicated. (See item 6 below.)

4.2 The incidence of proposed values

Guide question: How much attention is given to directly identifying values patriots are expected to adopt?

Indonesia: Eight percent of the contents of *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* is dedicated directly to suggesting specific values citizens should display. In addition, much of the remaining 92% includes material from which the values can be inferred.

USA: No patriotic values are directly proposed. However, a large majority of the contents reflect the values cited above by means of illustrative events and conditions drawn from the nation's distant and recent history.

4.3 Perceptions of changes in values over time

Guide question : Are there indications that certain values have changed over time in the nation's history? If so, what are those values and, according to the textbook account, how and why did they change?

Indonesia: Occasional passages of *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* suggest that patriotic virtues identified throughout the book did not change over the centuries. For example, prior to Indonesia's becoming an independent republic in 1945, certain virtues are pictured as appearing periodically in the efforts of indigenous islanders to end the political and economic control of the islands that was imposed by Holland prior to 1942 and by Japan during World War II.

> "Although during the early years of occupation by foreign powers the Indonesian people were unable to free themselves from the yoke of colonialism, they never lost hope nor did they ever surrender or admit defeat." (57)

However, no mention is made of any changes in values since the republic was established in 1948.

USA: A substantial portion of the US text is devoted to changes that have occurred over the nation's 200-year history, particularly in the freedoms and rights to which citizens are entitled. Much of this attention focuses on conflicts over the interpretation of freedoms and rights at different periods in history and over attempts—both successful and unsuccessful—to resolve the conflicts.

4.4 Methods of presenting values

Guide question: What methods are used for presenting values?

Techniques employed for presenting values include: (1) offering a single term representing a general concept and (2) describing behavior in a way that implies a value.

4.4.1 Single terms

Indonesia: "The nation's philosophical foundation consists of five principles (Pancasila)—belief in God (ketuhanan), dedication to the welfare of the nation's citizenry (kebangsaan), dedication to the welfare of humanity (perikemanusiaan), social justice (keadilan sosial), and rule by the populace (demokrasi)."

USA: "The Bill of Rights in the US. Constitution supports freedom of expression—in speech, in the press, in assembly, and in religion."

4.4.2 Values implied in descriptions of behavior

Indonesia: "In the realm of ideology, a Darul Islam group tried to abolish Pancasila ideology." (Implication—treasonous destruction of the nation's philosophical foundation) (59)

USA: "Reagan was the most visible but least accessible president in modern times. By alternately using and avoiding the media, his administration succeeded n managing the news more than any other administration." (Implication—dishonest manipulation of information) (216)

As noted above, single terms often appear in the Indonesian textbook but almost never in the US American volume. Both books provide frequent value implications, with the US volume containing the larger quantity.

5. Prescriptions identify proper and improper behavior from the viewpoint of patriotism.

Not only may textbooks suggest general values that should motivate citizens, but they may also describe in more specific terms the ways people should act on the basis of such values.

5.1 The form of prescriptions.

Guide question: In what form are prescriptions cast?

Prescriptions are statements of how either a citizen or the government is expected to act.

Indonesia: Prescriptions in *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* are direct proposals about the duties that citizens owe the nation.

"The Indonesian people are obligated to stand steadfast on their convictions and not be easily carried off by currents of superficial values nor tricked by modes of thought which these days so prominently appear as a sickness that certain elements are seeking to introduce into Indonesian society." (44)

The following statement is prefaced by a brief review of the history of foreign powers exerting political control over the Indonesian archipelago before the indigenous people declared their independence from Holland in 1945:

"Therefore, all Indonesian citizens need to develop the ability to defend and protect their nation. This ability must begin with education that introduces them to matters of national defense. The intent is to increase all citizens' knowledge of their country and its people, to heighten their belief in the five philosophical principles (Pancasila) as the national ideology, and to increase their willingness to sacrifice for the nation and its people. The term *defending the nation* refers to determined, inspired attitudes and actions of the entire populace, with everyone working together in a systematic, unified, and continuous fashion to carry out the aims of national defense and security. . . . Patriotism education is a conscious effort to develop the love, loyalty, and courage of learners toward sacrificing in defense of the nation and its people." (3-4)

USA: The book *Understanding American Government* contains no direct prescriptions, other than ones included in such a document as the *Constitution*; those prescriptions assume the form of (a) rights the government and the society in general are expected to guarantee for citizens and (b) regulations concerning the selection and duties of government employees. The following examples illustrate these two forms:

(a) Amendment 13 of the Constitution: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

(b) Amendment 22 of the Constitution: "No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice."

5.2 The incidence of prescriptions

Guide question: How much attention is given to directly recommending the behavior that patriots are expected to display?

Indonesia: Six percent of the contents of *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* directly suggest the citizen's duties in the form of expected actions. It can be argued that this quantity should be further increased by the 8% of contents identified above as values that should be part of a patriot's character, thereby raising the incidence of prescriptions to 14% percent of the textbook's contents.

USA: None directly. Readers are apparently expected to study the presentation of controversial issues and then draw their own inferences about how they should act as citizens.

6. The kind of nation patriots are obligated to support and foster

Textbooks often describe characteristics of the ideal kind of nation that patriots should strive to produce and maintain.

Guide question: What are the characteristics of the nation that patriots should protect and seek to enhance?

Indonesia: Characteristics of the ideal Indonesian nation suggested in *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* include: unified (bersatu), sovereign or self-ruled (berdaulat), free (merdeka), harmonious (serasi), just (adil), prosperous (makmur), and well balanced (berimbang), with participation of the entire populace (mengikutsertakan rakyat), and the utilization of the public press as an instrument to monitor government activities (alat kontrol masyarakat terhadap pemerintah). Throughout this book and other similar volumes, the emphasis is far more on patriots' obligations to defend the nation and promote its welfare than on obligations the nation owes its citizens.

USA: A continuing theme running throughout *Understanding American Government* is that all citizens are entitled to a variety of freedoms and rights, and it is the obligation of the society—through the leadership and support of the government—to ensure that such freedoms and rights are protected and implemented. A chapter entitled Civil Liberties opens with the proposal that:

"Americans value their 'rights.' Eighteenth-century Americans believed that people had 'natural rights' by virtue of being human. Given by God and not by government, they could not be taken away by government. Contemporary Americans do not use this term, but they do think about rights as much as their forebears did. . . . The Bill of Rights [attached to the US. Constitution] provides rights against the government. Actually it provides rights for a minority against the

majority, because government policy concerning civil liberties tends to reflect the views of the majority." (402)

As noted earlier, this textbook implies certain general obligations citizens owe to the nation (item 4.1 above). However, by far the greatest amount of attention is directed at (a) freedoms and rights the government is expected to guarantee for individuals and groups and (b) assessments of how faithfully representatives of the government bear their obligations. Three of the book's 16 chapters are dedicated entirely to individual rights the society is expected to provide (Civil Liberties, Civil Rights, Social Welfare Policy); and substantial portions of other chapters also address issues of rights. Types of rights discussed in detail include: (a) freedom of expression (speech, press, religion, and questions of libel and obscenity), (b) rights of criminal defendants (search and seizure, self-incrimination, jury trial, and cruel and unusual punishment), (c) controversial rights to privacy (birth control, abortion, homosexuality, right to die), and (d) according all citizens equal treatment versus practicing discrimination (racial, sexual).

7. Threats to the nation's welfare

Instructional materials frequently direct students' attention to problems that threaten the safety or prosperity of the nation. Patriots are typically expected to cooperate in efforts to solve such problems.

7.1 Types of threats

Guide question: What kinds of threats to the nation's welfare should patriots recognize and seek to overcome?

Indonesia: Periodically throughout *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* readers are warned that citizens must constantly be on guard against attacks and subversion arising from either foreign or domestic sources. The general term *Western colonialists* (penjajah barat) is most often used in comments about foreign control over portions of Indonesia prior to 1942. Early in the book a single passage identifies the specific nations involved in such political domination over a 350-year period—Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. At a later junction, ten pages review events of the Indonesian revolution against the Netherlands (1945-1949). A single passage identifies Japan as the foreign power controlling the islands during the period 1942-1945. Also mentioned are several threats from within the country in the early decades of the republic —the Darul Islam organization's attempts in the 1950s and early 1960s to establish a fundamentalist Islamic government and the efforts of the Indonesian Communist Party to achieve control of the government from the late 1940s into the mid-1960s.

A page is also dedicated to identifying recent dangers to Indonesia as a developing nation, dangers arising from efforts of large nations to impose their ideology (Soviet Union and People's Republic of China), political influence (Soviet Union and US America), economic exploitation of raw materials (Japan), cultural values (US America), and military might (Soviet Union and US America). (143)

Despite such occasional passages citing particular nations or groups, most of the textbook's warnings about threats too the nation are cast in general terms that fail to identify any specific foreign or domestic sources of such dangers.

USA: *Understanding American Government* is replete with implied threats to the nation's principal values, including the values of (a) the right of all citizens to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," (b) the equality of all citizens before the law, and (c) honesty in the conduct of government and in relationships among citizens.

7.2 The incidence of warnings

Guide question: How much attention is given to threats to the nation's welfare?

Indonesia: Approximately 2% of the contents of *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* directly warn readers of threats the nation's unity, prosperity, and survival. However, a far larger percentage of the contents warn citizens in such general terms as "It is the patriot's duty to be alert to threats to the nation and to be prepared to defend the nation against such dangers."

USA: Slightly over 50% of the contents of *Understanding American Government* identify instances and conditions in which rights have been abridged or violated or have been defended or enhanced. It can be argued that such material has been included in order to alert students to the sorts of threats to the nation's welfare that patriots should be prepared to help conquer.

8. The treatment of moral controversies

In the present context, the term *controversies* refers to conflicts within a nation or between nations over rights and obligations that derive from values to which people

subscribe. Such conflicts often involve confrontations between two types of values, such as an individual's right to own a gun versus the government's right to maintain peace and order. Or a controversy can pit one person's right to free speech against another's right for protection against irresponsible accusations. Textbooks bearing on patriotism can vary in the extent to which they identify controversies and in the types of controversies addressed.

Guide question: What controversial issues are presented in the textbook?

Indonesia: Few controversial issues are directly addressed in *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiwa.* However, one conflict between Indonesia and other nations that is given prominent attention is the question of who owns the seas that separate the islands that comprise an nation of islands? In other words, are the seas between and around the Indonesian islands the property of Indonesia, or are they open for use and exploitation by all nations and individuals? Furthermore, one three-page chapter is devoted to types of disputes (*persenketaan*) between (a) individuals and groups within the nation and (b) between nations.

USA: At least half of the contents of *Understanding American Government* focus on controversies, nearly all of them concerning issues within the society rather than conflicts with other nations. The controversies include ones from the past that have been resolved as well as current conflicts. The following questions illustrate the diversity of current conflicts posed in the textbook:

Should women have the right to choose whether or not to have an abortion?

Should English become the official national language?

Under what conditions should the country go to war or participate in military conflicts abroad?

Should there be control over the moral content of books, magazines, television programs, and the like?

Should every ethnic group be represented in businesses and government positions in the same proportion that those groups appear in the general population, or should employment be based solely on the ability of the individual to do the job well?

Should anyone who wishes to enter the nation be allowed to enter, remain, and be accorded the rights enjoyed by citizens?

Should people be permitted to go nude on public beaches?

Guide question: In what way does the textbook's treatment of each controversy reflect on the moral values a patriot should support?

Three approaches to controversies that may be adopted by textbook authors are those of: (1) directly advocating one side of the controversy and specifying that true patriots should favor that side, (2) presenting both sides of the controversy without directly preferring either side, but doing so in a manner that implies that one side is more worthy, or (3) presenting both sides of the conflict without stating or implying that one is more virtuous than the other.

Indonesia: Throughout *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* the authors consistently employ the first of these approaches, specifying which side is the proper one to adopt.

USA: Throughout *Understanding American Government* the authors vacillate between the second and third approaches. In some cases they cite reasons in support of one side as well as reasons in support of the other side, without reflecting their own preference for one side over the other. However, in other cases their own judgment of which side is morally correct is intimated in their phrasing of the event, as illustrated in the following passage:

"Along with most other Republications, [Senator] Orrin Hatch decided to try to kill the [family-welfare] bill. Using a variety of delaying tactics, they stalled the bill. . . . The final vote seemed to confirm [Democratic Senator] Pat Schroeder's comment that "There's no capital city in the world that talks more about family and does less." (496)

9. Assessments of the morality of one's own nation

Nation's can differ in the degree to which they tolerate or encourage self-criticism in patriotism-education programs. Usually the criticism is not a condemnation of the present form of government, such as parliamentary democracy, state socialism, colonial rule, or the like. Instead, the criticism is typically directed at individuals or groups who are censured for failing to live up to their patriotic responsibilities.

Guide question: How does the textbook serve as a model of the way a patriot should regard the moral qualities of the nation's—

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

9.1 Present-day political figures?

Textbook passages may describe people who have operated within the nation's political arena within recent decades. Such descriptions may include explicit or implicit appraisals of these individual's moral qualities.

Indonesia: The names of only three Indonesian political figures are mentioned in *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa*—the first president (Sukarno) and vice-president (Hatta) of the republic, and the current president (Suharto). Although no direct evaluation is offered of these leaders' moral qualities, the contexts in which there names appear imply that the roles they played were patriotically constructive.

USA: Of the 325 names of political personages mentioned in *Understanding American Government*, approximately 80% were engaged in political activity after 1950, with many still presently involved in politics, most of them as current or recent government officials. The majority of the contexts in which their names appear suggest, either directly or by implication, the textbook authors' approval or disapproval of their moral qualities.

9.2 Present-day government?

Other than identifying the names of political figures, textbook passages may describe the government currently or recently in power in ways that suggest approval or disapproval of that government's moral behavior.

Indonesia: The political party currently operating the Indonesian government has been in office for more than 27 years. As noted earlier, *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* is a government publication issued under the auspices of the National Defense Institute. The interpretive passages of the book invariably support the government's policies and actions. The following is a typical passage indicating tacit approval.

> "Since the foregoing national strategy represents the Indonesian people's defense of their existence and survival, there needs to be: (1) increasing national stability, (2) a proper development process, (3) all citizens playing a positive active role, and (4) the prevention of all sorts of disturbances, threats, obstacles, and challenges that occur or that might arise."

USA: Most of the interpretative passages in *Understanding American Government* that do not identify specific political figures suggest either approval or disapproval of the moral behavior of the government in power during a particular era under discussion. The following two excerpts illustrate one positive and one negative appraisal of the government:

> *Positive* "The president serves as a national symbol of collective unity and pride. . . . Reagan opened the 1984 Olympic Games and welcomed athletes and spectators from abroad. Bush's first trip abroad was to attend the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito."
>
> *Negative* "Although members of both Democratic and Republican administrations sometimes become involved in conflicts of interest [involving the improper use of their office for financial gain], the Republicans seem to have more. . . . The Reagan administration was especially prone to conflict-of-interest cases." (261-262)

9.3 Political figures of the past?

The historical content of textbooks can include portrayals of political figures of earlier times. Frequently these portrayals, either directly or by implication, appraise the moral quality of the individuals' actions or general character.

Indonesia: In one brief passage, *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* identifies 11 indigenous islanders as heroic leaders of freedom movements in the era of Dutch colonialism, principally during the period extending from the late 17th century through the 19th century. All 11 are pictured as admirable patriots

USA: An estimated 20% of the 325 political personages included in *Understanding American Government* werre active at sometime between 1770 and 1950. In the majority of cases, the authors' treatment suggests either approval or disapproval (sometimes a mixture of both) of those individuals' morality.

9.4 Governments of the past?

In textbooks concerned with patriotism, negative appraisals of the moral qualities of past governments are usually more common than negative appraisals of present-day governments, particularly when the political party currently in power pursues policies different from those of past regimes.

Indonesia: The Dutch East Indies government prior to 1942 and the Japanese occupation government during World War II are cited as oppressive, exploitative regimes. For the period following Indonesia's declaration of independence (1945-1990s), no negative criticism is leveled at the government. However, the criticism of the attempted coup d'état of 1965 might be interpreted as

implied criticism of the Sukarno government (1945-1966) under which the Indonesian Communist Party gained an impressive amount of power.

USA: Just as *Understanding American Government* is filled with evaluations of the moral qualities of recent and present-day regimes, so also governments in office during earlier eras are continually assessed by the authors.

10. Perceptions of other nations

Loyalty to one's country influences the way a variety of moral values are applied (1) to one's own nation's institutions and citizens, (2) to friendly nations' institutions and citizens, and (3) to unfriendly nations' institutions and citizens. The way patriotism conditions the application of moral principles can be illustrated with the following four examples. Typical patriotic versions of moral prohibitions against killing, lying, destroying property, and stealing are:

Do not kill, except in defense of one's nation or its citizens.

Do not lie, except to deceive people who are likely to harm one's nation..

Do not destroy property, unless it is enemy property that either poses a threat to one's nation or happens to be inadvertently damaged during efforts to further the welfare of one's own country.

Do not steal, unless the objects that are taken belonged to the enemy and now can contribute to the welfare of one's nation or its citizens.

10.1 The application of moral values in the treatment of other nations

Guide questions: Are patriotic perceptions of other nations depicted? If so, are moral values applied differently to other nation's than to one's own? If they are, which values are applied differently, to which nations, and apparently why?

Indonesia—USA: There appear to be no instances of either textbook differentiating between their own country and foreign nations in their application of moral standards.

10.2 Assessments of the morality of other nations

Loyalty to the nation can affect the moral qualities one attributes to other nations. The contents of textbooks can serve as a model of the opinions that good citizens should hold about the moral qualities of other countries—that is, the moral status of a foreign country's current government, of its citizenry, or of both.

Guide questions: Are moral qualities of other nations presented in the textbook? If so, which other nations are identified? What are the moral qualities attributed to each of the nations?

Indonesia: No moral values or lack of such are directly attributed to any foreign nation. However, occasional references to the unfairness of colonialist control of the country in the past imply that foreign governments have exploited the Indonesian people. Furthermore, as noted above, several foreign nations have been cited as potential threats to Indonesia's ideological, political, economic, cultural, and military status. The warnings issued about such threats appear to imply that those foreign governments are guilty of exploitation by not respecting Indonesia's moral right to self-determination. In effect, exploitation could be considered a characteristic of immorality.

USA: No attention is directed at the moral values of other countries. Any mention of other nations is in relation to the way the US government has dealt with foreign affairs, primarily during times of war or during severely strained relations between the US an certain other countries.

11. The relationship between patriotism and other forms of loyalty

Everyone owes loyalty to more than one object—nation, family, friends, community, and more. These assorted loyalties are sometimes in conflict. Duty to one's family or to one's ethnic group may clash with duty to the nation. Loyalty to one's church may interfere with obligations as a citizen. Hence, a typical assignment a nation's leadership issues to the education system is that of teaching students to place patriotism at the top of their priority list of loyalties.

Guide questions: What attention is directed at how loyalty to one's nation may merge with, or conflict with, loyalty to such other entities as self, family, religious denomination, ethnic group, humanity in general, or the like?

Indonesia—USA: Neither *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* nor *Understanding American Government* addresses the matter of interaction between loyalty to the nation and loyalty to other entities. Both books focus entirely on the values that define patriotism within their particular society.

Discussion

The following discussion (1) summarizes some noteworthy similarities and differences in the teaching of patriotism as derived from the above analysis of Indonesian and American college textbooks and (2) proposes five possible reasons for such similarities and differences.

However, before addressing these two matters, I should note that the purpose of this study has been to compare textbook contents from the perspective of patriotic values. The purpose has not been to assess the desirability of the values presented in either book nor to propose how effectively the books help create the kinds of patriots they are designed to produce. In other words, my intention is not to suggest, either directly or by implication, that the values advocated in either book are better or worse than those advocated in its counterpart. I believe such a judgment should be left to each individual who reads this study, with that judgment founded on the pattern of values to which the individual subscribes. Nor is it my intention to suggest which instructional methods employed by the authors of the two texts are the most effective for reaching the patriotism-education goals they had in mind. The question of which methods are most effective can best be answered by empirical investigations of the changes in students' beliefs and behavior that result from their use of the textbooks; no results of such investigations are available.

Noteworthy Results

Comparing the Indonesian and US American textbooks has yielded such findings as the following:

About half the contents of each textbook is composed descriptions of events, societal conditions, organizations, and documents. The other half consists of the authors' interpretation of what these events mean in relation to the welfare of the nation and its people. The US volume contains a slightly higher proportion of interpretation than does the Indonesian text.

In the Indonesian book, the moral values embodied in patriotism are often identified by such specific terms as love of country, strength of conviction, self sacrifice, and integrity. In contrast, the US text does not cite moral characteristics that patriots are expected to display but, rather, focuses attention on individuals' rights that the government is obligated to protect, with the implication that it is the patriot's duty to help ensure the fair distribution of those rights throughout the populace.

Whereas the Indonesian volume frequently prescribes the kind of behavior expected of patriots, the American text offers no direct prescriptions. However, running through the contents of both books is a stream of implications about the kinds of values patriots should promote.

Each book, either explicitly of implicitly, alerts readers to forces that imperil their nation's welfare. The Indonesian text directly warns citizens against attempts of forces from within the society and from abroad to divide the society, to replace the political system, and to pervert the indigenous culture. The US text, through a host of examples, implies that unity, peace, and general prosperity are threatened by forces that hamper the extension of equal rights to all citizens and that foster dishonesty in the conduct of government.

The two books treat controversial issues differently. First, the Indonesian text rarely considers controversies within the society, whereas well over half of the content of the US text is devoted to debatable matters. Second, the method of addressing controversies in the Indonesian volume consists mainly of informing readers which side of the issue is the proper one to adopt. In contrast, the US volume displays two methods of presenting conflicts: (1) citing rationales on both sides of a controversy, then letting readers determine

for themselves which side to favor or (2) citing rationales on both sides, but implying by the form of rhetoric used which side is more deserving.

The books also differ in their assessments of the nation's political figures, past and present. The Indonesian volume mentions the names of only three modern-day political leaders and only 11 from the distant past. Each personage is portrayed in heroic terms. The American text mentions 325 political figures, 80% of them active since 1950, with many of them still prominent on the national scene in the 1990s. The textbook's appraisal of such figures varies from individual to another. Some are condemned as witless, cowardly, or dishonest; whereas others are lauded for being wise, brave, and honorable.

The two volumes also differ in their appraisal of government administrations, past and present. The Indonesian text pictures the two colonial regimes—the Dutch before 1942 and the Japanese during World War II—as exploitative and oppressive. In contrast, no negative criticism is leveled at government administration since the nation became an independent republic in 1945. In contrast, the American textbook is replete with both negative and positive appraisals of past and present administrations.

Neither book offers any direct comparisons between the moral character of their own nation and that of other nations. However, the Indonesian text briefly cites several foreign governments as potential threats to Indonesia's ideological, political, economic, cultural, and military integrity. The warnings about such threats appear to imply that those foreign governments are guilty of exploitation by not respecting Indonesia's right to self-determination.

Neither book addresses questions of the relationship of patriotism to other types of loyalty to which people can subscribe, such as loyalty to self, family, ethnic group, religion, or the like. Thus, the question of how a patriot should act when confronted with a conflict between different loyalties is not addressed.

Five Influential Conditions

Explaining why a nation's patriotism education is conducted in its particular fashion requires an understanding of the sociopolitical context within which it takes place. The conditions influencing the content and style of patriotism instruction in Indonesia and the United States are, I am convinced, multiple and quite complex. The following paragraphs inspect five such conditions which, I speculate, have significantly influenced the contents and mode of instruction of the textbooks described above.

Demographic Diversity

Indonesia and the United States share several demographic features in common. Their main territories extend across approximately the same width and breath. Their populations rank as the world's third and fourth largest (USA—256 million, Indonesia—185 million). Ethnically their people are highly diverse, so that both of the governments at the time of their establishment adopted the same national motto, *unity in diversity*, symbolizing their efforts to meld a potpourri of cultures into a cohesive, congenial assemblage (Indonesia—*bhnineka tunggal ika*, USA—*e pluribus unum*). The existence of such large, ethnically variegated populations requires that the patriotism-education goal of maintaining national unity be accorded high priority. However, the authors of the two textbooks differ rather dramatically in the way they apparently believe unity can be fostered. The Indonesian volume continually stresses the need for citizens to defend the current government's efforts to withstand threats to its basic principles (Pancasila) and to its operation from forces either inside and outside the country. The stated assumption is that such support will achieve the greatest good for the greatest number. In contrast, the US volume focuses heavily on those rights of individuals and groups that the government is pledged to protect; the book goes to great length to apprise readers of problems involved in maintaining and expanding these rights. The apparent assumption is that national unity and popular support for the political system can best be maintained when such rights are distributed equally throughout the populace so there will be few, if any, dissident factions attempting to fracture the society.

Sociocultural Philosophy

Analysts of international politics have often noted a distinction between Asian and European/North-American nations in the traditional values on which their societies are founded. Asian societies more often encourage the individual to serve and sacrifice for the good of the group; thus, responsibility to the group is highly valued. On the other hand, Western liberal tradition more often emphasizes the social system's responsibility to the individual, a responsibility to ensure a wide range of personal rights (Munro, 1977). This difference of emphasis is revealed throughout the two textbooks by such passages as the following:

> *Indonesia:* "The concept *Indonesian archipelago* refers to a dynamic harmony and balance among all aspects of life, physical and social, as represented by the motto *unity in diversity* as the foundation of our Pancasila nation. The Indonesian archipelago and its people form a complete unit that cannot be shattered by any force whatever—we are one nation, one people, with one unifying language [Indonesian]. . . . It is essential that the entire populace, and particularly the nation's villagers, participate in all phases of national development." (42-43)
>
> *USA:* "Democracy emphasizes the value of the individual . . that every individual is equal and has worth before God; . . . individuals give some of their rights to government so it can protect them from each other. Individuals then use their remaining liberties to pursue their individually defined visions of the good life. . . . Although the opportunities for many individuals to get ahead in America are limited by prejudice and poverty, living in a society with an explicit commitment to individual worth can be exciting and liberating." (11)

This contrast in philosophical traditions could help explain the marked difference between the two textbooks' values emphases—the Indonesian volume stressing patriots' duty to protect the nation and its government and the US volume featuring patriots' obligation to protect the rights of individuals and groups.

Political Stability

For conveniences of discussion, the concept *political stability* can be divided into two types, one focusing on the political system and the other on the group in power.

The term *political system* refers to the established manner in which decisions are made about such matters as ownership and use of property, people's rights and obligations, the maintenance of order, and the methods of assigning people to positions of authority. Such labels as *theocracy, parliamentary democracy,* and *Marxist socialism* have been used to designate different systems. A nation's political system is considered to be stable when it faces no serious threat of being replaced by a different system.

The United States, at least since the end of the Civil War in the mid-1860s, has faced no such threat from within its own borders, despite the warnings by certain political activists after World War II that a communist take-over of the US. government was imminent.

However, Indonesian leaders, with apparent justification, have claimed that their parliamentary democracy and free-enterprise economic system have been imperiled by the proponents of two other political systems—Marxist communism and Islamic theocracy. The Indonesian Communist Party was outlawed following a 1965-1966 unsuccessful coup d'état, for which the Party was held responsible. The fighting that accompanied the ill-fated coup left an estimated 250,000 to 500,000 Indonesians dead. Since that time, the nation's anti-communist government has instructed citizens to vigilantly defend the country against potential communist subversion. As a second perceived threat, proponents of an Islamic theocracy have been active within the nation ever since the original framing of the republic in the mid-1940s. Indonesia's population is 87% Islamic, representing the largest concentration of Muslims in the world. However, the government from its beginning has pursued a policy of religious freedom, although continually under pressure from certain Islamic political parties to reestablish the nation as an Islamic state (Lembaga Pertahanan Nasional, 1992, p. 228). The government of President Suharto—continually in power since 1966—has managed to defeat Islamic candidates in elections, partially through regulations which weaken solidarity attempts among competing Muslim factions (Johns,

1987, p. 217). In light of these recent dangers to the type of parliamentary democracy that has been maintained over past decades, the government could readily argue that, if such a political system is to survive, patriotism education must stress loyalty to the government's policies, rather than emphasizing individuals' rights.

The final summary at the end of *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* proposes that:

> "The most likely threat to Indonesia is in the form of disturbances to the peace and of infiltration caused either by elements within the country or by ones from abroad, or else by cooperative efforts between both domestic and foreign sources." (258)

The second way of viewing political stability, the *group-in-power* perspective, refers to how permanently the people holding the reins of government can remain in office rather than be supplanted by a competing group. In this case, there is no instability of the system. Instead, the phrase *group-in-power instability* applies only when the system remains intact but the people operating it are changed. In other words, the rules of the game remain the same but new players replace the old. From a group-in-power perspective, the United States government over the past quarter century has exhibited greater instability than has the Indonesian government. President Suharto, along with his political colleagues and backers, have retrained power since 1966. In the United States over the same era, Republican administrations have periodically replaced Democratic administrations and vice versa.

A question can now be asked about which form of political stability —system or group-in-power— is being advocated in the two nation's textbooks? Consider, first, the US volume. Its contents reflect a strong commitment to the moral values delineated in the nation's constitution. At the same time, the book is filled with confrontational and critical remarks about administrations that have held office at different times in the history of the country. In effect, the book is designed to support the political system but not to protect particular office holders from being replaced. In comparison, the Indonesian text stresses the patriot's duty to defend the government from forces that would seek to change it but offers no negative comments the people who have held office over the past several decades. Critics might suggest that such an approach to patriotism education is intended not only to maintain the political system intact but also to discourage attempts to replace the group in power. Whether the authors of the book had such purposes in mind when they designed prepared the volumes remains a matter of speculation.

Locus of Control

In the present context, the phrase *locus of control* refers to who wields the power of decision over the nation's higher-education institutions and textbook publishing industry. As noted earlier, Indonesia and the United States are markedly different in this regard. Not only does control of Indonesian higher education emanate from the central government, but in the area of patriotic education the textbooks are written by government appointees to fit government specifications, and all institutions are required to employ those textbooks in classes on patriotism. In contrast, higher education in the United States is entirely decentralized, with each state holding the power of decision over its own state-supported institutions, each city controlling its own city-supported colleges, and all private institutions managed by their own boards of governors. Furthermore, the writing and publishing of textbooks is mainly the province of individual authors and private publishing companies, not associated with the government. Furthermore, in each higher-education institutions, committees or individual instructors choose which textbooks they will adopt.

This disparity between the two societies in locus of control may help account for the following differences in the content and style of the two books.

The Indonesian Textbook	The US. American Textbook
1. Specific prescriptions of how patriots should behave,	
A moderate number	None. Only very indirect implications.
2. Critical assessments of the behavior of past political figures	
None	A great many
3. Explicit or implicit disagreement with policies or practices of those currently in office	
Never	Frequent
4. The presentation of arguments on both sides of controversial matters	
Very rarely	Constantly

International Relations

Item 10 of the interpretive framework, as described earlier, suggests that the amount and type of attention devoted to a country's relationships with other countries at the time of a textbooks publication can be factors influencing the book's contents. I believe that suggestion is supported in the contents of *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* and *Under-standing American Government.*

By the early 1990s, neither Indonesia nor the United States was involved in either a hot war or cold war that threatened their security or sovereignty. For the United States, the dissolution of the Soviet Union removed a perceived source of danger which, over at least four decades, had been the prime consideration behind patriotic efforts to protect the American way of life. Thus, at the time that *Understanding American Government.* was published in early 1993, the nation was under no military threat to its safety nor were its political system and set of basic values in danger. Although several Asian and European countries were seen as endangering the US economy, the problem was not interpreted as a threat to the US economic system. Instead, it was viewed as a signal that the US system was being operated inefficiently—a question of management strategies. In short, there was an absence of threat from abroad. Such a condition might help account for the lack of attention to foreign nations in *Understanding American Government.*

Like the United States, Indonesia during the 1980s and early 1990s was engaged in neither a hot nor a cold war with any other country. *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa*, first issued in 1980 and reissued in 1992 in a slightly revised version, devotes only a single page to the nation's current relations with specific foreign countries. That attention is limited to warning readers of threats to Indonesian sovereignty that might arise from attempts of powerful nations to impose their ideology (Soviet Union and People's Republic of China), political influence (Soviet Union and US America), economic exploitation of raw materials (Japan), cultural values (US America), and military might (Soviet Union and US America). And in light of the recent dismembering of the Soviet Union, future revisions of *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* would need to drop even the Soviets from the list, leaving only three specific countries perceived as sources of danger. However, since the matter is given no more than passing mention in the book, we might speculate that the danger is not considered either immediate or critical. But if Indonesia were at war, the danger might conceivably be accorded more attention in the text.

References

Bahan Penataran (Upgrading Material). (1988) Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Davidson, J. W., Gienapp, W. E., Heyrman, C. L., Lytle, M. H., & Stoff, M. B. (1990) *Nation of Nations—Volume II: Since 1865.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Exodus. (1611) *Holy Bible* (King James Authorized Version), Chap. 20. Philadelphia, Winston.

Gert, B. (1970) *The Moral Rules — A New Natural Foundation for Morality.* New York: Harper & Row.

Johns, A. (1987) Indonesia, Islam, and cultural pluralism. In J. L. Esposito, *Islam in Asia.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Lembaga Pertahanan Nasional. (1992) *Kewiraan Untuk Mahasiswa* (Patriotism for College Students). Jakarta: Penerbit PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

Luke. (1611) *Holy Bible* (King James Authorized Version), Chap. 6, Verse 31. Philadelphia, Winston.

Munro, D. J. (1977) *The Concept of Man in Contemporary China.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Staf Pengajar PSPB. (1992) *Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa* (History of the People's Freedom Fight). Darussalam, Banda Aceh: Universitas Syiah Kuala.

Welch, S., Gruhl, J., Steinman, M., Comer, J., & Basehart, H. (1992) *Understanding American Government.*. Minneapolis, MN: West.